

Nādir Shāh and Muḥammad Shāh, a Hindī poem by TILŌK DĀS, contributed by WILLIAM IRVINE, late of the Bengal Civil Service.

[Read February, 1897.]

The poem of which I send a transcript, transliteration and translation, accompanied by some notes, was found last year (1895) among the books of the late Muftī Sultān Ḥasan Khān of Barēli (Rōhilkhand). Access to these books was obtained by my agent, Maulvī ‘Abdu-l-‘Azīz, through the good offices of C. Rustomjee, Esq., C. S., at that time Judge of the district.

In the exemplar found at Barēli the verses are wrongly placed, being given in the following order, 1-6, 77-93, 7-76, 94-103. This mistake I have corrected. The numbering gives 103 verses, but apparently they ought to be reckoned as one hundred and five. Verse No. 7, as it has eight lines, ought, I fancy, to be counted as two verses of four lines each; and the *Dohaṛā*, No. 103, is given as one verse of four lines, whereas *Dohaṛā* meaning ‘a couplet,’ the four lines form properly two couplets. After making this correction, I find the kinds of metre used are :—52 *Dohaṛā* (104 lines), 11 *Sōraṭhā* (22 lines), 1 *Kabit Dohaṛā* (2 lines), 18 *Kabit* (17 × 4 and 1 × 2, 70 lines), 2 *Savaiyā Kabit* (8 lines), 9 *Savaiyā* (36 lines), 9 *Aril* (36 lines), 3 *Chaupāi* (12 lines), giving a total of 105 verses and 290 lines.

Our copy is in the Persian character, as was perhaps to be expected owing to the Muhammadan source from which it has been obtained. I have made further enquiry, but no Nāgarī original is now forthcoming. But we may assume that the work was originally written down by the author, as all other Hindī poems are, in the Nāgarī character. The free use of purely Persian and Arabic words (suggested, no doubt, by the nature of the subject), is to be noticed, making of this poem an early specimen of the Hindī mixed with Persian, which the late Rājā Shiva Parshād advocated as the true literary language (see Grierson, “Modern Vernacular Literature,” 1889, No. 699, p. 148).

I know nothing of the author beyond his name, Tilōk Dās, which appears in the last line of verse 7. The work is not dated and no patron is named. But since verse 103 contains a mention of Nādir

Shāh's death in 1160 H. (May 1747), the poem cannot be earlier than that year, and judging from internal evidence, such as the number of real names and events given with tolerable correctness, I think it would be safe to give as the latest probable limit of composition a period of ten or fifteen years from 1747. The poem is not likely, in my opinion, to be later than 1757–1760 A.D.

From the place at which the work is found we may assume that the author was a native of Rōhilkhand. The language, of which the grammatical forms seem to be somewhat unstable, appears to me to show affinities both to the dialect of the upper part of the Ganges-Jamnā *dūāba* and to that of the country between Farrukhābād and Qannauj, the latter called by Kellogg, I think, Kanaujī. I am more or less familiar with both these dialects, and the language of the poem contains something of both. I suppose it should be classed as written in the Braj variety of the Hindī tongue.

As for the matter of the poem, it must be confessed that it is of no historical value, although, if no other account of Nādir *Shāh's* invasion had come down to us, this might have been otherwise. We might then have been forced to construct out of such materials a history of what really happened. The result would, I think, have been that the outlines of the story would have come out fairly true to fact, but in details there would have been equal redundancy and defect. The story of the faqīr's second sight would have been at once rejected by any critic: while he would have mourned over the absence of reasons for the sudden collapse of the Moghul defence, or for the apparently unprovoked slaughter of the unoffending inhabitants of Dihlī. In short, this poem shows us how rapidly in the East, even in modern history, fact and fiction are blended. We see, as it were, myth in the making.

I am no judge of the technical merits of the work as poetry, but it seems to me to present a brisk, lively and interesting narrative, far from devoid of local colour, and at times exceedingly graphic. The poet assumes as a matter of common knowledge that Nādir *Shāh* was invited into India by Nizāmu-l-mulk. The true solution of this question is one of the most difficult problems presented to us in the history of that period. The accusation was current at a very early date (see Fraser's "History of Nādir *Shāh*," published in 1741, pp. 69 and 129, and Rustam 'Alī's *Tārīkh-i-Hindī*, written in 1154 H. (1741-2) [B. Museum, Oriental MS. No. 1628, folio 281 b].) The author of *Risālah-i-Muḥammad Shāh*, however (B. M. Or. 180, foll. 106 b, 107 b), who wrote between 1161 H. and 1167 H. (1748–1754), puts all the blame upon Sa'ādat Khān, Burhānu-l-mulk, *Nāẓim* of Audh. But

Jonas Hanway's judicious remarks ("Revolutions of Persia," 3rd edition, 1762, II, 352) convey the wisest and safest opinion on this very disputable point. "It seems to me highly probable that Nādir did not stand in need of such instruments for the execution of his ambitious designs." In short, Nādir Shāh could not look on himself as the world-conqueror that he wished to be, a veritable equal of Changez and Taimūr, without an invasion of Hindūstān, and, as I hold, such an invasion was inevitable, invitation or no invitation.

I, TEXT:

حالات نادر شاہ و محمد شاہ

* دودھرہ *

- ۱ سری گنپت گوریس کے گوہند چرن منائے * احوال شاہ نادر کہوں جگت کبت بذای
 ۲ محمد شاہ بادشاہ دلی کا جو سرمور * بہت خوشی تھا عیش کرورا بات نا آور
 ۳ بندوبست سبہہ ملک کا سونپ دیا جو شاہ * غازی خان وزیر جو سبہہ کرت نبالہ
 ۴ مجلس رای دیوان کو سرد فتر تو جان * سختر کار سبہہ فوج کا خاندوران خان مان
 ۵ نظام الملک امیر تھا توپن کا سردار * بندوبست سبہہ جنگ کا اوسیکی تھا اختیار
 ۶ طرہ بازخان سورمان برآ ہوش کا دھنی * حکمت کو جو حکیم تھا علوی نام یہہ گہنی

* کبت *

- ۷ ملکہ زمانی جو اوسکی بیگم تھی تسکی بس ہو گئے شاہ اپارا -
 وہ صورت مدن جو خوب تھے مانو چندر کو دیت وہی اوجیارا *
 سبہہ راج سماج کو کاج جوئے تھے کو نہ ہرش رہی گہر بارا -
 اب دیکھہ دسا جو نریس لکھو مانو چندر چکور کی پریت نہارا *

* کبت *

- شراب اور کباب کھانا عمل رہ دیوانا دیکھہ مستانا جو عطای سبہہ آوہین -
 دھولکی تذبورا سار بیدن کو بجاوین باج دیکھو مہاراج سبہہ شاہ کو سناوین *
 جبڈے خرش ہوئی شاہ تبتہ کرئی بے پروا ہیرا موتی لعل مانگ کی لداوین -
 کب کہت ہے نلوک داس اور نا کچھو آس شاہ کو بنا ہے راگ اور نا بہاوہین *

* سوہیا *

- ۸ پریت کی ریت کچھنڈو نہین راکت جات نہ پات نہ نہین کل گارو -
 پریم کے نیم کہوں نہین دیت لاج نہ کان لگیو سبہہ کھارو *
 لین پھینڈو سونشہ عنہہ محمد شاہ کو روپ رہ متوارو -
 اک راگ اور رنگ بنا نہین پہاوت عاشق ہو رہیڈو شاہ اپارو *

* دوہرہ *

۹ روز اٹھوین شاہ کو سبھٹی کرت سلام * آپ اپنے قاع۔۔۔ آرت رت م۔۔۔ دام
۱۰ امیر نظام الملک جو گیا شاہ کی پاس * دیکھت ہی ہانسی کری جان کے اپنا داس

* کبت *

۱۱ دیکھو تم آوت ہے بوزنہ کی چال جیسی خوب خوش رنگ سبز پگڑی ات سچی ہے -
دیکھہ کی انوکھی چال کہت کہت رہنس تبتے بید حال جوتے کی اواز خوب پت پت کر بجی ہے *
حکم کیا بادشاہ بہت لوگ آوت ہین ایسے چال کیسو کی نہ میرے دل لگے ہے -
امیر ہے بتو ہے سیدانو بوزنہ کی شکل مانو دیکھہ دل خوش ہوت بوندن کر پگی ہے *
۱۲ امیر ہے بتو ہے سیدانو بوزنہ کی شکل جانو دیکھت خوش ہوت جبہہ مانو مسرات ہے -
اور جو امیر آوین ایسے چہب نا پاوین چہم چہم کر چلت چال مانو اطرات ہے *
دیکھ پویدن ساجن سوہت درگ خوب آنجن بہاجن کے تکور جیسے ادھک تہنکات ہے -
ایسو ہے امیر یہہ نظام الملک نام جبہہ سبہہ امیرون سرتاچ جو کہات ہے *

* زل *

۱۳ مٹیو جبئے یہہ بچن زبانی شاہ کے -
اوجھلی چہاتے اندر آگ جواہ کے *
گہر کیطرف وہ ہڈیو نظام الملک جو -
تہاپینڈو من منہہ کرودہ لگیو تہہ زخم سو *

* چوپائے *

۱۴ تب یہہ بہاکہہ سونائی بات - جو کچہہ حکم کیا سو سات *
جو کوی دن جیوت رہون - اسے آگ سون چہاتی دھون *
۱۵ سبہہ گنگری قلعہ کے جانو - تپ تپ کری بوزنہ مانو *
سو پہل جنم میروہ تبتے - تپت بوزنہ قلعہ میں جبئے *
۱۶ تب آکر مندر مندر میں نچ ہاتہہ سون پاتے لکھی جو بنائی -
تم شاہ جو نادر نادر ہو اور فوج رہہ تم پئے گہت چہائی *
یہہ دلی کا تخت جو خالی پورا تمکو اسکی لکھی ہے میں برآی -
ہم نوکر ہین تم مالک ہو اسکو تم آکر لیڈو سندیہائی *

* دوہرہ *

۱۷ بہت پتی لکھدئے امیر الملک نظام - ایک بات کے کارن بہیا جو نمک حوام *
۱۸ لے قاصد پاتے چلیو نادر شاہ کی پاس - نظام الملک امیر جو رہیو شاہ کا داس *

* کبت *

۱۹ شاہ سنی بات نہ سمات رس کھای - اوٹھی بلخ بخارا دئے نقارا - آی جان کے -
کابل اور پسرور - زور پوری تہور تہور - گجنی قندھاری جورے آس مان کے *
چھوڑو نادر شاہ لینی فوج بے پرواہ - ایران ملک سوئپ دیا نیک خان جان کے -
اوٹری دریآو سزده - پنجاب ملک کیا بندہ - لاکھا روپئے لے کرین کھان پان کے •

* سویا *

۲۰ تب زکریا خان صوبہ لاہور نے سوچ کری اپنی من ماہین -
یہہ فوج پوری جو دراندیان کے اسکی سم اور نہین جگ ماہین *
چن کھاوت ہے آدم کو کر دم ناک مین نہ سک کری من ماہین -
اسکا جو علاج کری کوئی اج رہے تب لاج نہین ہم ماہین *

* دوہرہ *

۲۱ ہاتھہ جور بنتی کری صورت سنگھ دیوان * حکم ہوئی مین جات ہون سب بدہ ہوئی امان

* سورتھا *

۲۲ تو بولیو سرتاج صوبہ جو لاہور کا * تم بن یہہ کاج اور کسو سینڈو نان سپرے

* دوہرہ *

۲۳ رخصت کیا دیوان کو بہنو تحفہ دی ساتھ * نادر شاہ کو جا ملا دونوں باندھے ہاتھہ

* سویا *

۲۴ نادر شاہ بڑا بادشاہ نہین کچھو چاہ بنا بادشاہ -
سبہہ فوج جدال قتال بنی اور سستہ رکھین سبہہ جنگ کی آھے *
تب عرض کرے جو محمد خان یہہ حاضر ہے دیوان جو آئی ہے -
نچ گات حوئی تہر تہرات سوئے بن ایس تحفہ قبول ہو یا ناہین *

* سورتھا *

۲۵ حکم کیا تب شاہ - تحفہ سبھی اوٹھائی * تو شکچی پہہ جائے - خان محمد سوئپ دئے

* دوہرہ *

۲۶ نادر شاہ نی پوچھینو سون دیوان مسجان * خان بہادر لڑا کوئے کچھنڈو سوچ ندان
۲۷ - کری عرض دیوان نے بہو بنتی کر جور * ای قبلہ جان بخشئے کرپا کرو پر یہہ سوز

* کبیت *

۲۸ بڑھے بہادرھے جائت سپہہ جگت دان کو۔ دیس میں پرسدہ سور جنگ کو جو دھنی ہے۔
 خان ہو بہادر بہو آور سیدوں راکھی فوج جنگ کو سماج بہو بات سبئی بنی ہے *
 ایک ہے قصور تا میں اب ہے وہ پر گھت کروں بنا ایک صاحب سب اور چیز تہنی ہے۔
 لڑتا بے سک یا میں نیک ہوں نہ جھوٹہ ہوت۔ صاحب جو تمارے اور یا تئی ان بنی ہے *

* سویا *

۲۹ رام سودشت سودشت سبئی جب رام کو دشت سودشت نہ کوئی۔
 یا ہئی تئی اتک رھیدو من تہتک۔ نہ کتک کری تمری سم کوئی *
 جب صاحب ہے تمرے بل۔ آپ سو یک ہی صاحب اور نہ کوئی۔
 یا ہے تئی خان بہادر تم پہہ بہو بنتی کینی ہے سوئی •

* دھرہ *

۳۰ سون باتان دیوان کے شاہ بہیدو انند * چھریو شاہ لاہور چھور دئی سب بندہ
 ۳۱ خان بہادر جا ملیو آگے نادر شاہ * لئی تحفہ بہو ملک کے نذر کئے بادشاہ
 ۳۲ لوٹن لگے لاہور کو مغل پتہان امیر * بہو دولت کو لوٹ کر سا ہو کئے فقیر

* کبیت *

۳۳ تب ہے دیوان جو ہین بڑی سجان سوہین خان بہومان کے کری لایق سبہہ جان کے۔
 تاہے پوکار کین رعیت سبہہ لوٹ لین شہر جو انوپ ہو تو سو نو پہیوان کے *
 چنپت اور لکھپت دواد خان کے دیوان سو شاہ جیو کے پاس گئے بنتی بہو تہان کے۔
 لوٹ لیڈو شہر سبہہ نام ہے لاہور ابے جو کداج روک ہوئی عرض مان مان کے *

* دھرہ *

۳۴ عرض بیگ نے جائی۔ کیدو عرض شاہ کے پاس * پرسن اوٹر کچھو نا کیدو۔ حکم قید بہیدو تاس

* سویا کبیت *

۳۵ تب دیرہ لاہور سی کوچ کیا اور رعیت لوٹ لئے تہہ ساری۔
 سون جرگون بہاگ گیدو جو آدینہ بیگ چلیڈو چھوڑ کے فوجداری *
 جائی لوکیو سو پہار میں خان کیدو سو امان بہئے بہو یاری۔
 سبہہ راجا پہار کے مٹر کئے تن سے بہیدو قول قرار بی چاوی *

* دوهرة *

۳۶ لوٹن لگی پتھان تب شہر جلدنہر آی * بہو دولت کو لوٹ کر تریپت جو بہئے اگہآی
 ۳۷ جب شہر جلدنہر لوٹ لیا تب خبر بہئے سو آدینہ بیگ -
 تسنی کچھنڈر سوچ کری من منہ دہوہ لئے خجر اور تیغ •
 گر جور بسمبر داس کہیو ہم کو بخشیدو یہہ سندر تیغ -
 تم حکم کرو ہم جاوت ہین یہہ نادر شاہ بڑا ہی بیگ *

* کبت *

۳۸ خان ہون سجان کہہ سون ہو دیوان پیارے تیری تو بس یہہ کام نہ آوی گو -
 وہ تو شاہ نادر بہادر پرسدہ قاعے دہگہ جآی کچھنڈو کہیو نہ پاوہ گو •
 تب ہے دیوان کہیو سون ہو سجان خان نمک حرام ہم کیسی جیئے کہاوہ گو -
 ایمن جو پاوون اب فوج ہون لیجاو اون سبہہ پہل بنے ملون نہیں سیدس کاٹ لیا وہ گو •

* کبت دوهرة *

۳۹ بہنڈو پرسن ہوے خان دینا جو بہت انعام -
 بدان کین دیوان کو جائینڈو پورن کام •

* سویا *

۴۰ تب آپ دیوان سوار بہنڈو اور فوج چرھے بہو تئے سنگ جاہئے -
 پن آیکی جوگت کری تنہون اور دیکھی سپاہ سبہہ نادر شاہ •
 تن سے بہو میل کیو تہئے پن لے گیئو نادر شاہ پہ تاہے -
 شاہ ولی اور محمد خان کیئو بہ—ومان دیوان جو آہے *

* دوهرة *

۴۱ نادر شاہ نے پوچھیدو کہو خان کے بات * سن دیوان سجان تون سبہہ بدہ ہے کو سرات
 ۴۲ عرض کری دیوان نے بہو بنتی کر جور • خان آپ کے کرپا کر بہت ہے خوشی پر یہہ مور

* کبت *

۴۳ پہار کے شکار میں جو بہت ہے خوشے ہے وان کو دیکھہ کے فقیرن کو جو بتوہے بلاس ہے -
 یاہے تئے اتک رھیو خان ہے سجان جگ کری بہودان اور بندگے پر کاس ہے •
 یاہے تئے میں آئیو اب فوج ہون لیا یو سب ایک لاکھ روپئے دی پتھایو تم پاس ہے -
 اور جوی تحفے میں بجاگینے آپکی جو لایق ہو قبول گیچیدو تاہے •

* دوهرة *

۴۴ حکم ہوا تب شاہ کا تحفہ کئے قبول * خوشی بہئے دیوان پرجان ہوس کا مول
۴۵ دیوان سجان فہمان عرض کری کر جور * لوٹ لیا تھا قلعہ سبہہ شہر جلندھر اور
۴۶ شامن کو پرواہ نہ کچھو مال کے جان * جو رعیت اور فوج ہم سبئی آپکی مان
۴۷ ہم حاضر ہیں تم شاہ جی جو کچھو کرو سوساز * جہاں پتہا و جات ہیں تذک نہ کریں آواز

* سوپا *

۴۸ حکم کیا تب شاہ جو نادر جو ہموی ہے سپاہ بولای -
جو اسباب ہو تن یہہ سبہہ دئیگی دیوان رسید لکھائے *
قوت ہے جائے دیوان سجان نے عرض کری بہو بات بنائے -
تب ہے پروانہ لکھائے دیو تم خان دواہہ کے بیچ سوپائی *

* دوهرة *

۴۹ بہو اوپمان دیوان کے لکھی جو نادر شاہ * دیرہ اپنا کوچ کر ستلج لکھد— و اتہا
۵۰ پروانہ لے قاصد گینو خان صاحب کے پاس * سونت کان ارمگیدو بہور بہیڈو سوتاہ ہولاس
۵۱ آئی شہر جلندھر میں اس تہتھی کری نواب * بہت دلاسا تہہ کینو بہور بہئی وہ آب

* ازل *

۵۲ دریا اون پار جو شہر سے سرہند تھا - لوٹ لیا وہ شہر جو بہت بلند تھا *
بارہ کوس میں شہر اباد ہوچکا - نادر شاہ کے لوٹ شہر سبہہ ہوا مکا *
۵۳ جای اوتریو وہ شاہ جو نادر کھیت میں - پانی پت مقام کیا اس ہیبت میں *
خبر سنتے ہی آيو ایک امیدر جو - خاندورانخان نام تے پرسدہ سو *

* دوهرة *

۵۴ سبہہ چالی شطرنج کی جو کوئی کری بچار * جیتیگو لاشک وہ کدئے نہ آوی ہار
۵۵ ایک چال سون بہول کو بازی ہاری جان * میٹھی بات ہے پھول کے جب ہنکار بکھان

* ازل *

۵۶ سونے خبر جب محمد شاہ نے - نادر شاہ جو آيو دلی وہ ہانسے *
خاندورانخان کو حکم ہوا اب جاہ تو - کیسا لوتا دیکھدو نادر شاہ کو *

* کبت *

۵۷ چلے درگہ پال بہوپال بہ— و منڈل کے - چلے وچہہ کچہہ اور چلے راو رانا جو -
چلے منڈلی بکنڈہہ ہون کو کلپئی راہ لیتے - پھیرت سیدس تذک ہرکہ جو ریو جانا جو *

بیاکل دل ملیڈو تڈل کیڈو دل شاہن کو - کہیت تے جائی لیڈو ہے نواب خانخانان جو -
 کب کہت تلوک داس کہان تو کرون بکہان - پہاگ چلیو پادشاہ جنگ خانخانان جو *
 ۵۸ دلی دل با دل اومگ اومگ آی عالی دینی ہے دوہآی دونون و مہمڈا کے -
 نوے سے اسوار پہاڑ کنیکھونو لاکھن کو - بر سیو ہے سار سندہ پہولی ہے بسنت کی *
 کر بنان کر لڑین - میس بنا دھر لڑین - صاحب بیچ راکھی ہے اپ بھگونت جی -
 ساری بادشاہ کی سپاہی کریں باہ باہ - خانخانان خوب لڑیڈو بخشش بھئی اپ کی *
 ۵۹ چٹاکہ چار چرن - سمندر سبہہ بہرن - دھک دھول دھرن - کو میر میس آن کے -
 کمان کتر کون - دامنی دوت ہرن - دھنس بان پھرن - بھڈو بلوان کے *
 سڈا کے جان چرن - چوکیں نران - مغل لاگے مرن - نہانگے کہ - ان پان کے -
 ازاکے روڈے پہاگن - سڈا کے کر جاگن - ترا کے تیر لاگن - نشانے خانخانان کے *
 ۶۰ دونڈے لاگن باجن مردنگی ڈھول ساجن - تورہ نشان گاجن - سو پہرون پہوکان کے -
 توپون کے گولی گڈن - زبورے جنگی سڈن - توپک کتر کون - گوارے گن بان کے *
 دمک دل دھوکن - تمک تیج چوکن - گھا اون مول روکن - لوکن باگہ وان کے -
 ۶۱ جگر پہور رھگیڈو گن نہین کرت - کبور تین رہ نہین من نہین لیت تیج نہین
 رھت پون کہن بھڈو -

سندر پدمنی پورکہ رکہہ نہ کرہ رت - سونت سروں زورتہہ کیڈو خانخانان بدم بلی
 جداون کرودہ کر تگ کیڈو *

* دوہرہ *

۶۲ پانچ کوس پیچھی ہڈیو دیرہ کیڈو نادر شاہ * لکھا نظام الملک کو ہار گئے جو سپدا

* کبت *

۶۳ موکو جو بولایو تم قابل سے - ایو ہم کون کاج کینا - جائے لاج ہم دھاریو ہے -
 ایک ہے امیر آیو کتر کترک دھاریو - جنگ کیڈو خاندوران مو سین نہ سہاریو ہے *
 ایسے امیر بہو ہوت بادشاہن پہ - ایک کی لڑآی میں تو ایسے اوکلیو ہے -
 تائین میں آی کر ولایت سے خراب بھیدو - نمک حرام تم خط کیڈو - ون پٹھاریو ہے *

* دوہرہ *

۶۴ امیر نظام الملک نے لکھیو جواب بناے * فوج ہٹی اسطرف کو جانے ایک نپاے
 ۶۵ دلی تخت جو شاہ کا تمہ مبارک ہوئے * لاج رہے میوی تینے جانیکا سبہہ کوئی
 ۶۶ جب ہت کر خانہ دورانخانان جان * دیا پلیٹا توپ کو فوج اورای مان

* سورهتآ *

۶۷ دلی تئی پنچ کوس توپون کا لارا لگا * اودے جآے تبہہ ہوس جو دیکھی اوس پال کو

* ازل *

۶۸ سبھئی اورآی فوج نظام الملک نے - خاندوران کے لات اودے تب فلک میں *

نیزہ پکڑے ہاتھ - چلا اسوار سو - جآی تخت کے پاس گرا بے تاب ہو *

۶۹ جب سدہ پای آپ شاہ تب پوچھو - کیسا جنگ - جو دیکھا نادر شاہ کو *

تب بولیو خان سز شاہ ایک بات تم - جو جیوت رہون صبح چلوں گا ساتھ تم *

۷۰ نادر شاہ کچھ - و چید - نہین ہون - کری لڑآی خوب جنگ میں بھگیدو *

تم کو ملنا خوب جنگ نا کیجیدو - ہرہاں گھر میں بے اتفاق نہ کو آو جیتیدو *

۷۱ بہور بھئی مرگیدو نواب امید - ر جو - ملیو - محمد شاہ ج - ای کی شاہ کو *

دلی پہونچیدو شاہ جو نادر اکھئے - گیارہ سے اکیاون سنہ چو پیدیا کہئے *

۷۲ حکم کیا تب بزن زبانی آپ نے - قتل ہوے تب دلی انت نچ - انیئے *

ایک دن تا سام قتل جب ہو چکی - حکم کیا تو بس خلق تب ہے بچی *

* دوہرہ *

۷۳ نادر شاہ نے پوچھو - و کہو محمد شاہ - بہودولت تم پہ سنے اوسکا کہو جو تھاہ *

* سورتھا *

۷۴ تب بولیو بادشاہ مجھ کو کچھ سنبھال نہ - دیوان جو مجلس اوسکو سبھئے سنبھال ہے *

* دوہرہ *

۷۵ دستک بھئی دیوان پر روپہہ پانچ ہزار * روز لیہو - دیوان تئے حاضر کرو دربار

* کہت *

۷۶ جای کے سپاہی کہین سون ہو دیوان شاہ آیس جو بہہ ہمہ دیہوروزان کے -

پانچ ہون ہزار روپئے دینہ - و آن سبہہ بادشاہ پاس آیس کو مان کے *

تب ہے دیوان سون راضی نامہ کیو اون روپہہ دئے چلو ساتھ نادر شاہ جان کے -

جای کے سلام کینی اگی شاہ مان لینی پوچھو دیوان تم کہو بات تہان کے *

۷۷ بہاے محمد شاہ کو درب ہے اتھاہ - تم کو معلوم ہے سو کہو بات ساچ کے -

جو کداج چھوٹہہ بولیو ابھئے تیرے کان کہولون مارا لون جان تئے نجانو بات کاج کے *

تبتے دیوان کہو بہید نہین جای لیو - بنان دیکھی کاغذ کے جانو باپ پاپ کے -

آیس چوہا ازن آپ تین دن سو چون - تبہہ پاچھی تا کے کہون جواب آپ کے *

* سورتھا *

۷۸ دیوان جو مجلس رای نمک حلال قدیم * کہی بات سمجھای سنو شاہ نادر جو تم

* دوہرہ *

۷۹ حکم ہوا تب شاہ کا تین روز جو جان * کاغذ سبھہ حاضر کرو تہے کسل کو مان

۸۰ گیدو دیوان سجان گہر میں پن سوچی بات * بن ساچے بولے ابھہ کدھئی نہ ہے کو سرات

۸۱ نمک جو کھایو شاہ کا بہو مدت تک جان * اپنے خاص زبان تڈے کیا انمان بکھان

* سورتھا *

۸۲ روز تیسری آہ دیوان جو مجلس سوئے گیو * اندر گہر کے جآی کھای کٹاری مرگیو

۸۳ خبر پہئے جب شاہ بہو سوچی میں منہہ تہئے * مرد جون لایق آہ مرن لگے نمک پرور سبتے

* دوہرہ *

۸۴ بہو بنتی کینی تہئے شاہ محمد جان * نادر شاہ کو بہا کیا شاہ جو سنون مہمان

* سویا *

۸۵ آپکی بدولت جو راج کروں یہہ مرن لگے حویئے مرد ہین جانو۔

جونہ سری دل میں اوپجے پن تاہ کرو ہمیری سر مانو *

تب نادر شاہ کہیو—و سن شاہ کرو سو لباس جو لئے ہم تھانو۔

تمکو بخشون سبھہ راج سماج یہہ دلی سے اٹک لغایت مانو *

* دوہرہ *

۸۶ تہئے جو محمد شاہ نے کیا لباس جو اور * خلقا توپے پہر کر بہیا درانے طور

۸۷ پانچ روز بیتے جبئے ادھے رات کے جان * دونوں شاہ چلے گیڈے سیر جو دھلے مان

* سورتھا *

۸۸ ایک المست فقیر رھڈا تھا ایک کوٹی میں * تاکو دیکھہ—سریر نادر شاہ پوچھہ—و

* سویا *

۸۹ تم سالک ہو اور مالک ہو کرامات دیکھاو ہمہ اپنے۔

تب دیکھہ فقیر کہیو تم نادر شاہ دیکھہ—او کچھو اپنے *

تب نادر شاہ کہیو آنکھہ میچ دیکھو جوئے چاہت ہو تہپنے۔

آنکھہ میچ لینے تو فقیر دیکھا خوب فوج جو نادر شاہ کہنے *

* دوہرہ *

۹۰ دلی سے اٹک تک فوج جو نادر شاہ * ہتیار پہر کو ہین کھتری عمدہ بنی سپاہ

* سوہیا *

۹۱ تب کہولکے انکھہ فقیر کہیو اب دیکھو اچنبہا دکھاؤن ائے -
 تم میچ کے انکھہ دیکھو تو شاہ نے موند کے دیکھیو تبتے *
 جوئی فوج فقیر نے دیکھی کہری تہہ کے سر کائے گئے سبتے -
 تب شاہ کہیو وہے فقیر کرو تم مہر کے نظر ابدے *

* سورتہا *

۹۲ کیا جو قول فقیر تون چاہئے کوسرات کون * مت کرو ذرا نہ دھیر حالا جاؤ کابل ابہا .

* سوہیا *

۹۳ تب نادر شاہ بولای سپاہ گو حکم دیا تم کوچ کرو -
 جوئی لعل جواہر خوب پکھ تہہ آپ لئے سوی سیدس دھرو *
 پانچ موتے کٹائی جتواو بنا قبضہ نلوار کا خوب کیدو -
 بہو دوات لیکر لال لئے اسباب جو خوب تھا سنگ لیدو *

* دہرہ *

۹۴ علوی نام حکیم پن بیگم کو لینا ساتھ * نادر شاہ سے پوچھو شاہ جو باندھے ہاتھ
 ۹۵ یہہ حکیم مرجاے رستی ہے مین جان * دھوپ لگے اگ پوری اسکو دشمن مان
 ۹۶ چھوڑ دیا تسکو تبتے چلا جو نادر شاہ * روا روی ایا چرتیا جمنڈا لڈا گاتھا
 ۹۷ امر سنگہ سردار کو قید کیا تب جان * پتیا لہ کا سردار اور ملک تھا وہ مان
 ۹۸ جو بوعورت بہو خوب تھی مانو چمکت پھان * بہت باندھی کینی تبتے مغل امیر پتھان
 ۹۹ ستلج کے پتن جبئے پوچھو نادر شاہ * عرض کری پن خلقت چھوئے اتھا
 ۱۰۰ دیئے خطاب راجا کا امر سنگہ کو جان * چھوڑ دیئے خلقت سبتے راجا کیا امان

* سورتہا *

۱۰۱ پھولچو جب لاہور اے ملیو اموی سبہہ * بہت بہیو تہہ شور خلقت کو جو عذاب تھا
 ۱۰۲ سبتے چھوڑ دی بند لکھپت اور چنپت دوا * بہیو جو بہت اند نادر شاہ جو نیکے جو سنئے

* دہرہ *

۱۰۳ چھوڑ دیئے خلقت سبتے کابل پھولچو شاہ * سنہ گیارہ سو ساٹھہ تک کیا جو راج نباد
 منزل فتح اباد مین آدھے رات سورجان * قتل کیا بادشاہ کو امیر محمد خان

* تم تمام شد *

II, TRANSLITERATION.

Dohaṛā.

1. Srī Ganpat Gōrēs kē Gōbind caran manāē,
Aḥwāl Shāh Nādir kahū, jagat kabit banāē.
2. Muḥammad Shāh Bādshāh Dillī kā jō sar mōr
Bahut khūshī thā, 'aish krōrā bāt nā ōr.
3. Bandōbast mulk kā sōp-diya jō Shāh
Ghāzī Khān Wazīr jō sab-hī karat nibāh.
4. Majlis Rāē Dīwān kō sar-daftar tō jān,
Mukhtār-kār sab fauj kā Khān Daurān mān.
5. Nizāmu-l-mulk amir thā, tōpan kā sardār,
Bandōbast sab jang kā usī kē thā ikhtiyār.
6. Turrah Bāz Khān sūrmān, baṛā hōsh kā dhanī,
Hikmat kō jō ḥakīm thā, 'Alwī nām yah ghanī.

Kabit.

7. Malkah Zamānī jō ūs kī bēgam thī, tis kē bas hō-gaē Shāh
apārā,
Wah ṣuratmand jō khūb thī, mānō candar kō diat wahī
ujiyārā.
Sabh rāj samāj kō kāj jōī, tah kō na hōsh rahī ghar-bārā,
Ab dēkh dasā jō narēs lakhō mānō candar cakōr kī prīt nahārā.

Kabit.

Sharāb aur kabāb khānā, 'aml rah dīwānā, dēkh mastānā, jō
'aṭāī sabh āwahī,
Dhōlki, tambūrā, sār, bēn kō bajāwē bāj, dēkhō mahārāj, sabh
Shāh kō sunāwē.
Jabai khūsh hūē Shāh tabai karē bē parwāh hīrā, mōtī, la'l,
sab māḡ kē liyāwē,
Kab kahat hai Tilōk Dās ōr nā kachū ās, Shāh kō banā hai
rāg, or nā pahāwahē.

Savaiyā.

8. Prīt kī rīt kachū nahī rākhat jāt na pāt, na nahī kal gārō,
Prēm kē nēm kahū nahī diat lāj, na kān lagiyō sabh kahārō.
Lēn phiyō sōnshah māh Muḥammad Shāh kō rūp rah
matwārō,
Ak rāg aur rang binā nahī pahāwat, 'āshīq hō-rahīyō Shāh
apārō.

Dohaṛā.

9. Rōz aṭhwē Shāh kō sab-lī karat salām,
 Āp apnī qā'idah āwat rahat madām.
 10. Amīr Nizāmu-l-mulk jō gyā Shāh kē pās,
 Dēkhat hī hāsī karī, jān kē apnā dās.

Kabit.

11. Dēkhō tum āwat hai bōznah kē cāl jaisī khūb khūsh rang sabz
 pagṛī at saji hai,
 Dēkh kē anōkhī cāl khar khar hās tabaē bē-hāl, jūti kī awāz
khūb paṭ paṭ kar bajī hai ;
 Hukm kiyā Bādshāh bahut lōg āwat hain, aisē cāl kisū kē
 na mērē dil lagī hai,
 Amīr hai, baṛō hai, siyāw bōznah kē shakl mānō, dēkh dil
khushī hōt, būndan kar pagī hai.
 12. Amīr hai, baṛō hai, siyāw bōznah kē shakl jānō, dēkhat
khūsh hōt, jabh māuō susrāt hai,
 Aur jō amīr āwē aisi chab nā pāwē, cham cham kar calat cāl
 mānō aṭrāt hai,
 Dēkhiē parbin sājan sōhat darg khūb ānjan, bhājan kē ṭakōr
 jaisī adhak ṭhankāt hai.
 Aisō-hī amīr yah Nizāmu-l-mulk nām jabh, sabh amīran
 sartāj jō kahāt hai.

Aṛil.

13. Suniyō jabai yah bacan zabānī Shāh kī,
 Ūchalī chātī andar āg juwāh kī,
 Ghar kī ṭaraf wah haṭiyō Nizāmu-l-mulk jō,
 Thāpiyō man māh krōdh, lagiyō tah zakhm sō.

Chaupāī.

14. Tab yah bhākh sūnāī bāt, “ Jō kuch hukm kiyā sō sāt,
 “ Jō kōī din jīwat rahū, isī āg sō chātī dhōū.
 15. “ Sabh gungrē qila'h kē jānō, ṭap ṭap karē bōznah mānō,
 “ Sō phal janam mērō hī tabai, ṭapat bōznah qila'h mē jabai.”
 16. Tab ā kar mandar-sandar mē, nij hāth sō pātī likhī jō banāī ;
 “ Tum shāh jō Nādir nādir hō aur fauj rah tum pai ghaṭ-chāī,
 “ Yah Dillī kā takht jō khālī paṛā, tum kō is kī likhī hī mē
 baṛ āī,
 “ Ham naukar hāī, tum mālik hō, is kō tum ā kar liyō sam-
 phāī.”

Dohaṛā.

17. Bahut patī likh diē Amīru-l-mulk Nizām,
Ek bāt kē karan bhayā jō namak-harām.
18. Lī qāṣid pātī, caliyō Nādir Shāh kē pās,
Nizāmu-l-mulk amīr, jō rahīyō shāh kā dās.

Kabit.

19. Shāh sunī bāt na samāt ris khāi, ūṭhē Balkh Bukhārā, di.
naqārā, āē jān kē,
Kābul aur Pashaur zōr paṛī ṭhōr ṭhōr, Gajni Qandahārē jōrī
ās mān kē,
Chariyō Nādir Shāh linī fauj bē-parwāh, Irān mulk sōp diyā
Nēk Khān jān kē,
Ūtarē daryāō Sindh, Panjāb mulk kiyā banda, lākhā rūpai
liē karē khān pān kē.

Savaiyā.

20. Tab Zakariyā Khān ṣūbah Lāhōr nē sōc karī apnē man māhī,
Yah fauj baṛī jō Durrāniyān kī, is kē sam aur nahī jag māhī
Cun kahāwat hai, “ādam kō kar dam nāk mē,” na sak karē
man māhī,
Is-kā jō ‘ilāj karē kōī āj, rahē tab lāj nahī ham māhī.

Dohaṛā.

21. Hāth jōṛ bintī karī Sūrat Singh, Dīwān,
“Ḥukm hōē, main jāt hū, sab bidh hōē imān.”

Soraṭhā.

22. Tō bōliyō sartāj, ṣūbah jō Lāhōr kā,
“Tum bin yah kāj aur kisū sē nāṣ saparē.”

Dohaṛā.

23. Rukḥṣat kiyā dīwān kō, bahū tuḥfah diē sāth,
Nādir Shāh kō jā milā, dōnō bāndhē hāth.

Savaiyā.

24. Nādir Shāh baṛā bādshāh, nahī kachū cāh binā bādshāhī
hai,
Sabh fauj jadāl qatāl banī, aur susthir rakhē sabh jang kē
āhī,
Tab ‘arṣ karī jō Muḥammad Khān, “Yah ḥāzīr hai dīwān jō
āē hai,
“Nij gāt jōi thartharāt, sōi bin is tuḥfah qabūl hō yā nāhī.”

Sorathā.

25. Ḥukm kīyā tab Shāh, tuḥfah sabhī ūṭhāī,
Tōshakcī pah jāē, Khān Muḥammad sōp diē.

Dohaṛā.

26. Nādir Shāh nē pūchīyō : “ Sūn, dīwān sajan,
“ Khān Bahādur laṛahgō kē kachū sōc nidān ? ”
27. Karī ‘arz dīwān nē, bahū bintī kar jōr,
“ Ai qiblah ! jān bakhshīē, kirpā karō par yah mōr.

Kabit.

28. “ Baṛō hai, bahādur hai, jānat sabh jagat dān kō dēs mē par-
sāddh sōr jang kō jō dhanī hai,
“ Khān hō Bahādur, bahū-āwar, siūn rākhī fauj jang kō samāj
bahū bāt sabai banī hai,
“ Ek-hī qaṣūr tā mē ab hai, wah par ghaṭ karū, binā ēk, ṣāhib,
sab aur ciz ṭhanī hai,
“ Laṛtā bē-sāk, yā māī nēk hū, na jhūṭh hōt, ṣāhib, jō tumārē
aur yā tai an banī hai.

Savaiyā.

29. “ Rām sūdasht sūdasht sabai, jab Rām kūdasht sūdasht na kōī,
“ Yāhī tai aṭak rahīyō man ṭhaṭhak, na kaṭak karē tumrē
sam kōī,
“ Jab, ṣāhib, hai tumrē bal, āp so ēk haī, ṣāhib, aur na kōī,
“ Yāhī tai Khān Bahādur tum pah bahū bintī kinī hai sōī.”

Dohaṛā.

30. Sūn bātān dīwān kē, Shāh bhayō anand,
Chōriyō Shāh Lāhōr, chōr diē sab bandh.
31. Khān Bahādur jā miliyō āgē Nādir Shāh,
Līē tuḥfah bahū mulk kē, nazar kiē bādshāh.
32. Lūṭan lagē Lāhōr kō Mughul, Paṭhān, Amīr,
Bahū daulat kō lūṭ kar, sāhū kiē faqīr.

Kabit.

33. Tab hī dīwān jō hāī baṛē sujān sō hī Khān bahumān kē karē
lāiq sabh jān-kē,
Tāhī pūkār kīn ra‘yat sabh lūṭ līn shahr jō anūp hō tō sūnō
pahiwān-kē
Campat aur Lakhpat, Dawād, Khān kē dīwān, sō Shāh jīū kē
pās gaē bintī bahū ṭhān-kē,
Lūṭ liō shahr sabhī, nām hī Lāhōr abai, jō kadāj rōk hōē ‘arz
mān mān-kē.

Dohaṛā.

34. ‘Arṣ-bēg nē jāē kiō ‘arṣ Shāh kē pās,
Par sūn, ūtar kachū nā kiyo, hukm qaid bhayō tās.

Savaiyā Kabit.

35. Tab ḍēra Lāhōr sē kūc kiyo aur ra‘yat lūṭ liē tah sārī,
Sūn jargō bhāg gayō jō Ādīnah Bēg Khān caliyō chōṛ kē
faujdārī,
Jāē lūkiyo sō pahār mē Khān kiyo sō amān bhaī bahū yārī,
Sabh rājā pahār kē mitr kiē tin sē bhayō qaul-qarār bēcārī.

Dohaṛā.

36. Lūṭan lagē Paṭhān sab shahr Jalandhar āē,
Bahū daulat kō lūṭ-kar tarpat jō bhaī agāhī.

Kabit.

37. Jab shahr Jalandhar lūṭ liya tab khabar bhaī sō Ādīnah Bēg,
Tis-nē kachū sōc karī man māh ḍhōh liē khanjar aur tēgh,
Kar jōr Bisambhar Dās kahīyo, “ham kō bakhshō yah sundar
tēgh,
“Tum hukm karō, ham jāwat hain, yah Nādir Shāh baṛā hai
bēg.”

Kabit.

38. Khān-hō sujān kah, “Sūn-hō, dīwān piyārē, tumrē tō bas yah
kām na āwē-gō,
“Wah tō Shāh Nādir, bahādur, parsiddh, tā kē ḍhagah jāē
kachū kahī na pāwah-gō.”
Tabhī dīwān kahī, “Sūn-hō, sujān Khān! namak-harām ham
kaisē jabai kahāwah-gō?
“Īs jō pā-āū ab fauj-hō lejā-āū, sabh phal banī milū, nahī
sis kāt liyāwah-gō!”

Kabit Dohaṛā.

39. Bahū parsann huē Khān, dīnā jō bahut in‘ām,
Bidān kin dīwān kō, jāniyo puran kām.

Savaiyā.

40. Tab āp dīwān sawār bhayō, aur fauj caṛhē bahū tai sang jāē,
Pan āē-kē jūgat karī tinhō aur dēkhī sipāh sabh Nādir
Shāhē,
Tin sē bahū mēl kiyo tabai, pan lē-gayō Nādir Shāh pah tāhē,
Shāh Walī aur Muḥammad Khān kiyo bahūmān dīwān jō āhē.

Dohaṛā.

41. Nādir Shāh puchiyō, “Kahō Khān kī bāt,
“Sun, dīwān sujān, tō sabh bidh hī kō sarāt.”
42. ‘Arz karī dīwān nē, bahū bintī kar jōr,
“Khān āp kē kirpā kar bahut hī khūshī par yah mōr.

Kabit.

43. “Pahār kē shikār mē jō bahut hī khūshī hai, wā kō dēkh kē
faqīran kō jō baṛō hī bilās hai,
“Yāhī tai aṭak rahiyō Khān hī sujān, jag karē bahū dān aur
bandagī parkās hai,
“Yāhī tai māī āiyō ab fauj-hō lī-yāyō sab ēk lākh rūpai dē
paṭhāyō tum pās hai,
“Aur jōī tuḥfē māī-nē bajā gīnī āp kō jō lāiq hō, qabūl kījiyō
tās hai.”

Dohaṛā.

44. Ḥukm hūā tab shāh kā, tuḥfē kīē qabūl,
Khūshī bhai dīwān, parjān, hosh kā mūl.
45. Dīwān, sujān, fahāmān, ‘arz karī kar jōr,
“Lūṭ liyā thā qila’h, sabh shahr Jalandhar ōr.
46. “Shāhan kō parwāh na kachū māl kē jān,
“Jō ra’yat aur fauj ham sabai āp kē mān.
47. “Ham ḥāzīr hāī, tum shāh jī jō kachū karō sō sāz,
“Jahā paṭhāō jāt hāī, tanak na karē āwāz.”

Savaiyā.

48. Ḥukm kiyā tāb Shāh jō Nādir, “Jō hamrī hī sipāh bulāē,
“Jō asbāb hō, tan yah sabh dīē-kē, dīwān rasīd likhāē.”
Turāt-hī jāē dīwān sujān nē ‘arz karī, bahū bāt banāē;
Tab-hī parwāna likhāē diō, tum Khān dūāba kē bic sōpāē.

Dohaṛā.

49. Bahū ūpmān dīwān kē likhē jō Nādir Shāh,
Dēra apnā kūc kar, Satlaj likhiyō athāh.
50. Parwāna lē qāṣid gayō khān ṣāhib kē pās,
Sūnat kān ūmagīyo, bhūr bhayo sva-tah hulās.
51. Āē shahr Jalandhar mē as ṭhaṭhī karē nawāb,
Bahut dilāsa tah kīnō bhōr bhai wah āb.

Arīl.

52. Daryā ūn-pār jō shahr basē Sarhand thā,
Lūṭ līyā wah shahr, jō bahut buland thā,
Bārah kōs mē shahr ābād hō cukā,
Nādir Shāh kē lūṭ, shahr sabh hūā mukā.

Arīl.

53. Jāē ūtariyō wah shāh jō Nādir khēt mē,
Pānīpat maqām kīyā as haibat sē,
Khābar suntē hī ēk amīr jō
Khān Daurān Khān nām tis sē parsiddh sō.

Dohaṛā.

54. Sabh cālī shatranj kē, jō kōi karī bicār,
Jītē-gō, lā-sak, walī kadaī na āwē hār.
55. Ek cāl sō bhūl kar, bāzī hārī jān,
Mīṭhī bāt hī phūl kē, jab hākār bakhān.

Arīl.

56. Sūnī khābar jab Muḥammad Shāh nē,
Nādir Shāh jō āyō Dillī, wah hāsī ;
Khān Daurān Khān kō hukm hūā, “ Ab jāh tō,
Kaisā laṛṭā dēkhiyō Nādir Shāh kō.”

Kabit.

57. Calē dirg-pāl, bhū-pāl, bhū-mandal kē, calē wach-kach, aur calē
rāō rānā jō,
Calē mandlē bakanṭh hō kō, kalpiē rāh lētē, phērat sīs tanak,
harakh jōriyō jānā jō,
Byākul dal miliyō, qatal kiyō dal shāhan kō, khēt tai jāē liyō
hai Nawāb Khān Khānān jō,
Kab kahat hai Tilōk Dās, kahā tō karū bakhān, phāg caliyō
bādshāh-i-jang Khān Khānān jō.
58. Dillī dal-bādal umag-umag āē, “ ‘ Aī ” dīnī hai duhāī,
“ dōnō ō mahmand ” kī,
Nau sai assī aswār pahār khāichiyō nau lākhan kō, barsiyō
hai sūr sudh, phūlī hai basant kī,
Kar binān kar laṛṭē, sīs binā dhar laṛṭē, Ṣāhib bic rākhi hai
āp Bhagwant jī,
Sāīē bādshāhē kē sipāhī karē, “ Bāh, bāh, Khān Khānān,
khūb laṛiyō, bakhshish bhāī āp kī.

59. Caṭāka cār ciran, samundar sabh bharan, dahak, dhūl, dharan,
kō Mēr sis ān kē.
Kamān kaṛ-kaṛan, dāmanī-dūt haran, dhās bān phaṛan, bhyō
bulwān kē,
Saṭā-kē jān caran, cūkē narāran, Mughal lāgē maran, na
māgē khān pān kē,
Aṛā-kē rōdai phāgan, saṭa kē kar jāgan, taṛā kē tir lāgan,
nishānī Khān Khānān kē.
60. Dōḍī lāgan bājan, mirdangī ḍhōl sājan, tōrhī nishān gājan,
sūphirō phūkān kē,
Tōpō kī gōlī “ganān,” zambūrē jaṅgī “sanān,” tōpak “kaṛ-
kaṛan,” guwārē gan bān kē,
Damak dal dhōkan, tamak tij cōkan, ghāḍ mōl rōkan, lūkan
Bāghwān kē,
Aṛā-kē rōdai phāgan, saṭa kē kar jāgan, taṛā kē tir lāgan,
nishānī Khān Khānān kē.
61. Jigar phōr rah-giyō gun nahī karat, kabūr tē rah nahī, man
nahī liyat, tēj nahī rahat, paun kahā bhayō,
Sundar padmanī pūrakh rakh na kara rat sūnat sarō zōr tak
kiyō Khān Khānān, bairam, balī, jadō krōdh kar tang kiyō.

Dohaṛā.

62. Pāc kōs pīchē haṭiyō dēra kiyō Nādir Shāh,
Likhā Nizāmu-l-mulk kō, hār gaē jō sipāh.

Kabit.

63. “Mō kō jō būlāyō tum Kābul sē, āyō ham kōn kāj kīnā, jā tai
lāj ham dhāriyō hai,
“Ēk hī amīr āyō, kaṛak kaṛak dhāyō, jaṅg kiyō Khān
Daurān, mō-sē na saḥāriyō hai,
“Aisē amīr bahū hōt bādshāhan pah, ēk hī laṛāī mē tō aisi
ūkalāyō hai,
“Tā tē māī āē kar wilāyat sē kharāb bhayō ; namak-harām,
tum khaṭ kyū pathāyō hai ? ”

Dohaṛā.

64. Amīr Nizāmu-l-mulk nē likhiyō jawāb banāē,
Fauj haṭī is taraf kō, jānē ēk na pāē.
65. Dilli takht jō shāh kā, tumha mubārik hōī,
Lāj rahī mēri tabai jānēgā sab kōī.
66. Jab haṭ kar āyō Khān Daurān jān,
Diyā palitā tōp kō fauj ūṛāē mān.

Soraṭhā.

67. Dillī tai panj kōs, tōpō kā larā lagā,
 Ūḍī jāē tabh hōs, jō dēkhē ūs pāl kō.

Aṛil.

68. Sabhai ūṛāī fauj Nizāmu-l-mulk nē,
Khān Daurān kē lāt ūḍī tab falak mē,
 Nēzah pakṛī hāth calā aswār sō,
 Jāē takht kē pās girā lē-tāb hō.
69. Jab sudh pāē āp shāh tab puchiyō,
 “Kaisā jang jō dēkhā Nādir Shah kō ?”
 Tab bōliyō Khān, “Sunō, shāh, ēk bāt tum,
 “Jō jīwat rahū, ṣubh calūngā sāth tum,
70. “Nādir Shāh kachū ciz nahī hō,
 “Kaiē laṛāī khūb, jang mē bhagiyō,
 “Tum kō milnā khūb, jang nā kijiyō
 “Harhān ghar mē bē-itifāq na kō āō jītiyō.”
71. Bhōr bhai mar gayō nawāb amir jō,
 Miliyō Muḥammad Shāh jāē kē Shāh kō,
 Dillī pahūchiyō Shāh jō Nādir akhīē,
 Gyāra sai ikyāwan sauh chaupyā kahīē.
72. Ḥukm kiyā tab ba-zan zabānī āp nē,
 Qatal hūī tab Dillī, anat na jāniē,
 Ēk din tā sām qatal jab hō cukī,
 Ḥukm kiyā tō, “Bas !” khalq tabhī bacī.

Dohaṛā.

73. Nādir Shāh nē pūchiyō, “Kahō, Muḥammad Shāh,
 “Bahū daulat tum pah sunē, us kā kahō jō thāh.”

Soraṭhā.

74. Tab bōliyō bādshāh, “Mujh kō kuch sambāl na,
 “Dīwān jō Majlis us kō sabai sambhāl hai.”

Dohaṛā.

75. Dastak bhai dīwān par rupaiyah panc hazār,
 Rōz lihō dīwān tai, ḥāzīr karō darbār,
76. Jāē kē sipāhī kahē “Sūn-hō, dīwān, shāh āēs jō bhai hama
 dihō rōzān kē,
 “Pāncōn hazār rupai dīnhō, ān sabh bādshāh pās calō, is kē
 mān kē.”

Tab-hī dīwān sūn rāzīnāmah kiyō, ūn rupaiyah dīē calō sāth,
Nādir Shāh jān kē,

Jāē-kē salām kīnī, āgē shāh mān linī, pūchīyō “ Hē dīwān !
tum kahō bāt thān kē,

77. “ Bhāī jō Muḥammad Shāh kō darb hai athāh tum-kō ma'lūm
hai, sō kahō bāt sāch kī,

“ Jō kadāj jhūṭh bōliyō, abhī tēri kān khōlū, mār ḍālū jān
tai, na jānō bāt kāj kī.”

Tabai dīwān kahiyō, “ Bhēd nahī, jāe liyō, binā dēkhī kāghaz
kī, jānō bāt pāp kī,

“ Ais cuhā-āū āp tīn din sōcū, tabh pāchī tā-kē, kahū jāwāb
bāt āp kī.”

Soraṭhā.

78. Dīwān jō Majlis Rāē, namak-ḥalāl qadīm,
Kahē bāt samjhāē, “ Sunō, Shāh Nādir jō tum.”

Dohaṛā.

79. Ḥukm hūā tab shāh kā, “ Tīn rōz kē jān,
“ Kāghaz sabh ḥāzīr karō, tabai kusal kō mān.”

80. Gayō dīwān sujān ghar mē pan sōcī bāt,
Bin sācī bolī abh kadhī na hai kūsarāt.

81. Namak jō khāyō shāh kā bahū muddat tak jān,
Apnī khāṣ zabān tai kyā anmān bakhān ?

Soraṭhā.

82. Rōz tīsrī āh, dīwān jō Majlis sōī gayō,
Andar ghar kē jāē, khāē kaṭārē mar gayō.

83. Khabar bhāī jab shāh, bahū sōcī man māh tabāī,
Mard jō lāiq āh, maran lagē namak-parwar sabāī.

Dohaṛā.

84. Bahū bintī kīnī tabāī Shāh Muḥammad jān,
Nādir Shāh kō bhākiyē Shāh jō, “ Sūnō, mihmān,

Savaiyā.

85. “ Āp kē ba-daulat jō rāj karū, yah maran lagē jōī mard-hī
jānō,

“ Jō tumrē dil mē ūpjē pan tāh karō, hamrē sar mānō,”

Tab Nādir Shāh kahiyō “ Sun, Shāh ! karō tō libās jōī ham
ṭhānō,

“ Tum kō bakhshū sabh rāj-samāj yah Dillī sē Aṭak laghai-
yat mānō.”

Dohaṛā.

86. Tabai jō Muḥammad Shāh nē kiyā libās jō aur,
Khalqā tōpī pahī kar, bhyā Durrānī ṭaur,
 87. Pāc rōz bīti, jabai adhī rāt kē jān,
 Dōnō shāh calē gaē sair jō Dihlī mān.

Soraṭhā.

88. Ēk al-mast faqīr rahtā thā ēk kūṭī mē,
 Tā kō dēkh sarīr Nādir Shāh pūchīyō.

Savaiyā.

89. “Tum sālīk hō aur mālik hō, karāmāt dēkhāō hama apnī.”
 Tab dēkh faqīr kahiyō, “Tum, Nādir Shāh, dēkhāō kachū
 apnī.”
 Tab Nādir Shāh kahiyō “Āikh mic dēkh jōī cāhat hō ṭhapnī.”
 Āikh mic līnī tō faqīr dēkhā khūb fauj jō Nādir Shāh khanī.

Dōhaṛā.

90. Dillī sē Aṭak tak fauj jō Nādir Shāh,
 Hathyār pahī kar hāī, kharī ‘umdaḥ banī sipāh.

Savaiyā.

91. Tab khōl kē ākh faqīr kahiyō, “Ab dēkhō, acambhā dēkhā-
 ū abai,
 “Tum mic kē ākh dēkhō.” Tō Shāh nē mūd kē dēkhīyō
 tabai,
 Jōī fauj faqīr nē dēkhī kharī, ta kē sar kaṭē gaē sabai,
 Tab Shāh kahiyō hai, “Faqīr! karō tum mihr kē nazar abai.”

Soraṭhā.

92. Kiyā jō qaul faqīr tō “Cāhiyē kūsarāt kōn,
 “Mat karō zarrā na dhēr, calē jāō Kābul abhī.

Savaiyā.

93. Tab Nādir Shāh bülāē sipāh kō ḥukm diyā, “Tum kūc karō,”
 Jōī la’l juwāhir khūb pakhiyē ta āp hē sōī sīs dhariyō,
 Pāc mōṭī kaṭāē jāṛāō banā, qabzah talwār kā khūb kiyō.
 Bahū daulat lē kar lād liē, asbāb jō khūb thā sang liyō.

Doharā.

94. 'Ulwī nām ḥakīm pan bēgam kō lēnā sāth,
Nādir Shāh sē pūchiyō shāh jō bāndhē hāth.
95. "Yah ḥakīm mar jāē rāstē hī mē jān,
"Dhūp lagī, āg parī, is kō dushman mān."
96. Chōṛ dīyā tas kō, tabai calā jō Nādir Shāh,
Ravā-ravī āyā caṛiyā Jamnā lankā thāh,
97. Amr Singh sardār kō qaid kiyā tab jān,
Paṭiyāla kā sardār aur mulk thāwah mān.
98. Jō 'aurat bhau khūb thī mānō camkat pahān
Bahut bāndhī kinī tabai, Mughul, Amīr, Paṭhān.
99. Satlaj kē paṭan jabai pūchiyō Nādir Shāh,
'Arz karī sardār pan khalqat chūṭī athāh.
100. Diē khitāb Rājā kā Amr Singh kō jān,
Chōṛ diē khalqat sabai, Rājā kiyā amān.

Sorathā.

101. Pahūchiyō jab Lāhōr, āē miliyō umrāē sabh
Bahut bhayō tah shōr, khalqat kō jō 'azāb thā.
102. Sabai chōṛ diē band, Lakhpat aur Campat, Dawād,
Bhayō jō bahut anand, Nādir Shāh jō nekī jō sunīē.

Doharā.

103. Chōṛ diē khalqat sabai, Kābul pahūchiyō Shāh,
Sanh gyāra sau sāth tak kiyā jō rāj nibāh,
Manzil Fathābād mē ādhī rāt sō jān,
Qatl kiyā bādshāh kō Amīr Muḥammad Khān.

III, TRANSLATION.

THE STORY OF NĀDIR SHĀH AND MUḤAMMAD SHĀH.

1. Having worshipped the feet of Ganpat and Gōbind,
I indite an epic on the deeds of Nādir.
2. Muḥammad Shāh, king of Dihlī, who was our ruler,
Was fond of pleasure, delighted only in numberless enjoyments.
3. The rule of the kingdom had the king confided
To Ghāzī Khān, his Wazīr, who fulfilled all the duties.
4. Know that Majlis Rāē, the dīwān, was chief official;
Understand, Khān Daurān had power over all the army.
5. Nizāmu-l-mulk, a noble, commanded the artillery;
All the orders for war were under his control.

6. Turrah-bāz Khān, a hero, richly endowed with wisdom,
The physician who prescribed was called 'Ulwī.
7. Malikah Zamānī, his queen, was idolized by the king ;
So lovely was she, you might say the moon drew its light from
her face.
All business, public and private, was neglected.
See the state of the king, he gazed full of love like the *cakōr*
at the moon ;
They ate roast-meat, drank wine, were mad with opium. Seeing
him drunk, they all came for largess.
Drums, guitars, fiddles, flutes were played. Behold, good sir,
the king listened to every kind of music.
When pleased, the king heeded not his acts, sent for diamonds,
pearls, and rubies to adorn her.
Tilōk Dās sings this song, hopes for nought, has made a tune
for the king, and that is all.
8. The ways of love preserve neither house nor name nor tran-
quillity ;
Love has no constraint nor shame, no obedience to any one.
Having tasted of the cup, Muḥammad Shāh was drunk from
her beauty.
Never without song or dance, the king was beyond measure in love.
9. Once a week all men did homage to the king,
Each in his own fashion always used to come.
10. When the noble, Nizāmu-l-mulk, came before the king,
On seeing him the king forthwith laughed, looking on him as
his servant :
11. "Look you, how with a monkey's gait he comes, adorned with
a nice, pretty-coloured, green turban."
Seeing his strange gait, they burst into hoarse laughter. His
shoes sounded nicely "thump, thump."
The king declared, "Many come, but no one's walk has so de-
lighted me.
"A great noble, he looks like a black monkey ; on seeing him
my heart o'erflows with joy.
12. "He is noble and great, he looks like a black monkey ; to see
him is a pleasure, know this is my delight,
"No other noble is so lovely, he goes tinkle-tinkle, his gait is a
joy to behold.
"See, clever one, the shining of the lamp-black on his eyes, he
sounds like drum-beating, how he jingles as he goes,
"Such is this noble, named Nizāmu-l-mulk, he who is called
the greatest of all the nobles."

13. When he heard this speech from the lips of the king,
 A flame of fire leapt up within his breast.
 He went to his house, this Nizāmu-l-mulk;
 Anger beat in his mind, it hurt like a wound.
14. Then spoke he aloud these words,
 “The king’s commands are truth,
 “If I live a little longer
 “Of this fire I will cleanse my breast.
15. “When on all the battlements of the fort
 “The monkeys leap hither and thither,
 “Then will my life reach its fruition,
 “When the monkeys bound into the fort.”
16. Then entering his dwelling, with his own hand he prepared a
 letter:
 “You are Shāh Nādir, the all-powerful, you have a formidable
 army,
 “This throne of Dihlī is vacant, this greatness has been re-
 corded as yours,
 “I am your humble servant, you are my lord, come and take
 possession.”
17. A long letter was written by the noble Nizāmu-l-mulk,
 Having by reason of one word become untrue to his salt.
18. The post runner took the letter, went to Nādir Shāh,
 From noble Nizāmu-l-mulk, the servant of the Shāh.
19. The Shāh listened to nothing, but fell into a rage, quitted Balkh
 and Bukhārā, arrived with drums beating.
 Ruin fell on Kābul, Pashāwar and other places; Ghaznī and
Qandahār submitted,
Nādir Shāh led on his army never heeding; the realm of Irān
 was made over to Nēk Khān.
 He descended the river of Sindh, enslaved the Panjāb country,
 took lakhs for his sustenance.
20. Then reflected Zakarīyā Khān, Governor of Lāhōr, in his mind,
 “This great host of Durrānīs, there is not its equal in the
 world;
 “As the saying is ‘it would bring the breath into a man’s
 nose;’ of this there is no doubt.
 “Whoever may be able to cope with it, I have not the
 capacity.”
21. Joining his hands, Sūrat Singh, Dīwān, made petition,
 “If ordered I will go, in some way make peace.”
22. Then spoke the ruler of Lāhōr province,
 “By none other than you can this work be completed.”

23. The Dīwān was sent off, taking many presents with him.
Before Nādir Shāh he appeared, both hands joined.
24. “Nādir Shāh a great king with no greed but sovereignty,
Makes his army fight, and stands firm in every battle.”
Then petitioned Muḥammad Khān, “Here is this Dīwān who
has come ;
“His whole body trembles ; are these presents accepted or
not ?”
25. Then the Shāh gave this order, “Take up the presents !”
Khān Muḥammad took them, and delivered them to the ward-
robe-keeper.
26. Nādir Shāh asked, “Listen, you clever Dīwān !
“Has Khān Bahādur the least intention of fighting ?”
27. The Dīwān replied respectfully, with many invocations,
“O polestar of the world ! grant life, bestow on me this
grace !
28. “He is great and brave, he holds all earthly gifts, the whole
country knows he is rich in all required for war.
“Khān Bahādur is very powerful, has a good army and all
things ready ;
“He has one defect, one thing is wanting ; except that, my
lord, everything else is at hand.
“He would fight, without a doubt (I am a true man and no
liar), my lord, if it had been any other than yourself.
29. “When Rām is friendly, all are friendly ; Rām adverse, there
are no friends ;
“On this he stuck, this was his hindrance, no army could
equal yours.
“When, my lord, one has your strength, there is but one lord
and none other ;
“Therefore has Khān Bahādur made to you these many en-
treaties.”
30. Having heard the Dīwān, the Shāh was pleased.
The Shāh quitted Lāhōr, released all the captives.
31. Khān Bahādur went and presented himself to Nādir Shāh.
Taking gifts from many lands, he laid them before the Shāh.
32. Plundering began in Lāhōr by Mughul, Paṭhān and noble.
Much wealth was plundered, bankers were turned into paupers.
33. Then the Dīwān, who was very clever, and the respected Khān
did what was for the good of all.
They cried aloud, “All the people are plundered, the incompar-
able city [*to sūno pahīwān kē?*]”

Campat and Lakhpat, Dawād, the Khān's dīwāns, went to the Shāh and made many protestations,

“All Lāhōr city is plundered, now only the name is left, this should now be stopped.” Again and again they prayed.

34. The 'Arz-beg went and made petition to the Shāh ;
But hearing he answered naught ; they were ordered to prison.

35. Then camp was struck at Lāhōr, all the people were plundered.
Hearing this, the chief men fled ; Adīnah Bēg bolted from his district ;

He hid himself in the hills ; the Khān made overtures greatly terrified.

He made friends of all the hill rājās, entered with them into covenants.

36. Then began the Paṭhāns to rob the whole town of Jalandhar,
Much wealth they gathered and were contented.

37. When Jalandhar had been harried, Adīnah Bēg learnt it.
He began to think of plans, cleaned his swords and daggers.
Bisambhar Dās petitioned, “Give me this lovely sword,
“If you pass the order, I go at once ; this Nādir Shāh is a great lord.”

38. The clever Khān said, “Listen, O Dīwān, my friend, this work, to be plain, will not prosper with you.

“He is king Nādir, a hero, famous, he will in no way succumb to deceit.”

Then said the Dīwān, “Hear, O Khān, how can you in any case style me untrue to my salt.

“If now I am given troops, I will start and gain the fruit ; if not, you may behead me.”

39. The Khān was much delighted, gave many rewards,
Gave the Dīwān leave to start, bearing full instructions.

40. Then the Dīwān mounted, many troopers mounted and followed.

Then using clever devices, he saw all the army of Nādir Shāh,
Made good friends with them. After that he was taken to Nādir Shāh.

Shāh Walī and Muḥammad Khān announced the Dīwān's arrival.

41. Nādir Shāh asked, “State the Khān's message,
Hear, clever Dīwān, give details of the whole affair.”

42. The Dīwān made his statement with many protestations,
“If you have mercy on the Khān, he will be highly pleased with me.

43. "He is very fond of hunting in the hills, he has much
delight in visiting the holy men there,
"There the Khān lingered, and prayed, and gave many pre-
sents,
"Thus I have come with troops, and have brought for you
one lakh of rupees,
"Also presents of value, thought worthy of you ; be so good
as to accept them."
44. Then the Shāh gave his order, the presents were accepted.
The Dīwān was happy, that clever one, that root of wisdom.
45. The Dīwān clever and full of understanding, then petitioned
with joined hands,
"They have plundered the whole fort and city of Jalandhar.
46. "Know that kings should have no regard for wealth.
"On this people, on this army, on every one look as your own.
47. "We are ready, Lord King, for whatever you direct,
"Wherever you choose to send us, we breathe not a sound."
48. Order then was made by Shāh Nādir, "Call back the soldiers,
"Whatever goods there are, give all to the Dīwān, and take
a receipt."
- Forthwith the clever Dīwān made prayer with many words.
Then a patent was written making over the Duāba to the Khān.
49. Nādir Shāh having written much praise of the Dīwān,
Marched off, and raised his tents on the Sutlaj bank.
50. The messenger took the order, went to the Khān Sāhib.
Hearing it, his ears stood up with joy, in his mind he was
highly delighted.
51. The Nawāb came to Jalandhar town, after making these pre-
texts,
He took his ease, was very resplendent.
52. On the further side of the river lay Sarhind town.
The city was plundered, a very high city,
The habitations thereof covered twelve kos.
From Nādir Shāh's plundering silence fell on that city.
53. Then went that Shāh, called Nādir, to the battle field,
Made Pānīpat his resting place in greatest state.
On hearing this, there came one warrior and noble,
Khān Daurān is the name by which he is renowned.
54. All the moves at chess, if one reflects well,
Will be won without fail, never will a player be defeated ;
55. But know the game as lost, if one move be thoughtless :
Soft words flourish, when bawling overturns.

56. When Muḥammad Shāh was told,
 “Nādir Shāh is come to Dillī,” he laughed.
 Khān Daurān was told, “Now go thou;
 “I will see how you fight with Nādir Shāh.”
57. The lord of forts, the chief of many countries set out, crowds
 followed him, with him went the princes,
 Went towards the realm of death, took the road to grief, throw-
 ing their heads from side to side, know them to be full of
 joy.
 In a mass they met the army, slaughtered the Shāh’s troops;
 thus has the field been taken by Nawāb Khān Khānān.
 Tilok Dās writes a poem, but words cannot express it, how
 hastened on that king of war, that lord of lords.
58. The mighty host of Dillī came leaping and bounding with cries
 of “God, the Faith, the Faith, and Muḥammad,”
 Nine hundred troopers stood like a hill against nine lakhs, per-
 fect valour was poured out, yellow flowers sprang forth,
 Hand fought without hands, bodies fought without beads, the
 leader was upheld in the midst by Holy Bhagwān,
 All the royal soldiers cry, “Bravo! Khān Khānān! you have
 fought well, the victory is due to you.”
59. Limbs split with a crash, all the oceans fill, heat and dust
 collect, rise to the head of mount Mēru,
 The bows crackle, the lightning-messengers seize, with a wish
 the rockets whirl, to affray the strong man,
 They strike and take life, thousands miss, the Mughuls begin
 to die without calling for betel leaf,
 The bowstrings are drawn with a hiss, the hand lays hold and
 sets in motion, the arrows resound as they strike their target,
 the Lord of Lords.
60. Drum-beating began to sound, short drums, long drums, my
 beloved, trumpets, *nishān*, horns, brazen trumpets blew,
 The cannon boom, the war-swivels whistle, the matchlocks
 rattle, the rockets scream,
 The army bows low before the blaze, abandons its pride and
 yields, deep wounds stop them, they behold Bhagwān,
 The bow strings are drawn with a hiss, the hand lays hold
 and sets in motion, the arrows resound as they strike their
 target, the Lord of Lords.
61. They lay with their vitals cut open, they had no advantage, the
 graves were filled up, one cannot count them, no vigour was
 left, they may be likened to air,

- Lovely women could not save their husbands for their love,
 blood flowed fast from heads, when the Lord of Lords, the
 champion and strong man, raging, girded his loins tightly.
62. Retiring a distance of five kōs Nādir Shāh encamped,
 Wrote to Nizāmu-l-mulk, his men having been defeated,
63. “ You have called me from Kābul, for what end did I come, to
 be thus disgraced,
 “ One noble only came, he rushed with great speed, Khān
Daurān fought, you did not aid me,
 “ Many such nobles must be with the king, from the attack
 of one I have been made uneasy,
 “ Thus have I come from Wilāyat to be defeated. Unfaithful
 man, why sent you the letter ?”
64. Nizāmu-l-mulk, the noble, made up and wrote an answer,
 “ If the army comes this way, be certain of meeting no one,
65. “ Congratulations to you on getting the king’s throne at Dihlī.
 “ The shame put upon me, then will it be known to all.
66. “ Know that when he returns, Khān Daurān will be attacked,
 “ Know that the match will be put to the guns, his army will
 be dispersed.”
67. Five kōs from Dihlī was ranged the line of guns,
 A man lost his wits, when he saw that barrier.
68. Nizāmu-l-mulk blew up all the army,
Khān Daurān’s men like a pillar rose into the sky,
 Seizing their lances, the horsemen used them,
 Then went and fell worn-out before the throne.
69. When the king learnt this, he asked,
 “ What sort of fight have you shown to Nādir Shāh ? ”
 Then spoke the Khān, “ Hear, O king, a word from me !
 “ If I live, to-morrow I will start along with you.
70. “ Nādir Shāh has proved a thing of nought,
 “ When well fought with, he fled from battle,
 “ But better for you to visit him, do not fight,
 “ When there is strife within a house, no victory can be won.”
71. When the morn came the noble Amīr died.
 Muḥammad Shāh went forth and visited the Shāh.
 When the Shāh Nādir had reached Dihlī,
 The end of year eleven fifty-one (1151) had come.
72. Then gave he the order with his own lips.
 Then was Dihlī slaughtered, know it was there only,
 In one day till sunset the slaughter was ended.
 When he said “ Enough !” then were the people spared.

73. Nādir Shāh enquired, "Listen, Muḥammad Shāh!
"I heard you had much wealth, tell the place where it is."
74. The king spoke, "I have no recollection,
"The Dīwān called Majlis, he has all the details."
75. A written order issued to the Dīwān for five thousand rupees,
"Take them daily from the Dīwān, bring him to *darbār*."
76. The sepoy went and said, "Hear, O Dīwān, he who is king of
the age, has given us a daily allowance,
"Give us every one of the five thousand rupees, come to the
king, obey the order."
- Forthwith the Dīwān took an acquittance and gave the rupees,
and went with the men from fear of Nādir Shāh.
He went and made obeisance before the Shāh. He asked,
"Are you the Dīwān, speak, be careful of your words,
77. "The store-house of Brother Muḥammad Shāh's boundless
wealth is known to you, now tell the truth.
"If in the least you speak lies, at once I will open your ears,
will kill you outright, such words will not avail you."
Then said the Dīwān, "I have not the details, I will fetch them,
without seeing the papers my reply would be wrong,
"I will have search made, will reflect for three days, after that
I will answer your lordship's question."
78. The Dīwān called Majlis, an ancient loyal servant,
Spoke, having understood, "Hear, O king Nādir!"
79. Then the Shāh's order was, "You have three days,
"Bring all the papers, know this is your only safety."
80. The well-minded Dīwān went to his house, then thought it out,
"Unless the truth be now told, there will be no salvation.
81. "Know, that for many a day having eaten the king's salt,
With his own very tongue how make revelation"
82. When the third day came, Majlis, the Dīwān,
Went into his house, stabbed himself with a dagger and died.
83. When report was made to the king, he thought much in his
mind;
"The men of worth begin to die, all true to their salt."
84. Know, that then Muḥammad Shāh urgently entreated;
The king spoke to Nādir Shāh, "Listen, my guest,
85. "Behold, those true men by whose help I rule, begin to die,
"Do whatever arises in your heart, and be it on my head."
Then said Nādir Shāh, "List, O king, apparel yourself like me,
"Behold, then will I grant you this realm from Dihli to
Aṭak."

86. Then did Muḥammad Shāh change his raiment,
Put on a coat and light cap, turned himself into a Durrānī.
87. Know, after five days had passed, at midnight,
Behold both kings went forth to visit Dihlī.
88. One Almast, a holy recluse, lived in a house.
Seeing his body, Nādir Shāh enquired,
89. “You are an ascetic and holy man, show me your miracles.”
Then the faqīr looked and said, “Nādir Shāh, first display
your own.”
Then Nādir Shāh said, “Shut your eyes, behold whatever you
like.”
Shutting his eyes the faqīr saw a fine army with Nādir Shāh.
90. From Dihlī to Aṭak was that army of Nādir Shāh,
Standing fully armed, a splendid array.
91. Opening his eyes then said the faqīr, “Behold, I will now
show wonders,
“Shut your eyes and look!” Then when the Shāh had closed
them, he saw
The soldiers the faqīr had seen arrayed, all lying headless.
Then said the Shāh, “Holy man! look favourably on me.”
92. Then spoke the faqīr, “If you wish to be preserved,
“Delay not one moment, at once set out for Kābul.”
93. Then Nādir Shāh sent for his men, ordered them to march.
What rubies and stones were best, he took and put on his
head,
Five pearls were cut and mounted to make a lovely swordhilt,
Much wealth was laden, all of value was carried away.
94. The doctor called ‘Ulwī and a princess were to be taken
away;
The king spoke to Nādir Shāh with joined hands:
95. “Be sure this doctor will die on the journey,
“The hot sun and the heat are his deadly enemies.”
96. Having released him, Nādir Shāh departed.
Going on his way, he came to the side of the Jamnā.
97. Know, that he made a captive of Amr Singh;
Know, that he was chief and ruler of Paṭiāla.
98. The good-looking women, who attracted them,
They made slaves of, did the Mughuls, and nobles, and Paṭhāns.
99. When Nādir Shāh reached the towns near the Sutlaj,
The chiefs petitioned, then were the people released.
100. Know, that the title of Rājā was given to Amr Singh.
He released all the people, pardoned the rājā.

101. When he reached Lāhōr, all the nobles attended,
There was much noise, much oppression on the people.
102. All the bonds were undone of Lakhpat and Campat, Dawād.
Nādir Shāh was much pleased on learning their good qualities.
103. All the people were released, the Shāh reached Kābul.
Up to the year eleven hundred and sixty he ruled.
At the camp of Fathābād, at the hour of midnight,
The emperor was slain by the noble, Muḥammad Khān.

NOTES.

3. *Ghāzī Khān*.—This title did not belong to Qamru-d-dīn Khān, I'timadu-d-daulah, the chief minister, but is no doubt adopted owing to the difficulty of getting the true names into the line.
4. *Majlis Rāē*.—Rāē Majlis Rāē, Brāhman, the *dīwān* of I'timadu-d-daulah Qamru-d-dīn Khān, being oppressed in the troubles raised by Nādir Shāh, took his own life at Shāhjahānābād in the end of Muḥarram 1152 H. (*Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī*). The 29th Muḥarram=8th May, 1739, but for the exact date see note to verse 82.
4. *Khān Daurān*.—Khwājah Muḥammad 'Āṣim, first Ashraf Khān, then Ṣamṣāmu-d-daulah, Amīru-l-umarā, Khān Daurān, Bahādur, Manṣūr Jang, son of Khwājah Qāsim, Naqshbandī, was wounded on the 15th Zu-l-qa'dah 1151 H. (23rd February, 1739), in a battle with Nādir Shāh. He died on the 19th of the same month (27th February), aged 68 years, (*T-i-Mḥdī*).
5. Nizāmu-l-mulk's appointment as Mir Ātash could only have been a recent one. On his last visit to Court he reached Dihlī on the 16th Rabī' I, 1150 H. (13th July, 1737). Five days afterwards, on the 21st Rabī' I, 1150 H. (18th July, 1737) Mḥd. Muqīm, entitled Muqīmu-d-dīn Khān, *dārōghah* of the *Tōpkhānah*, died at Shāhjahānābād, aged about 70 years (*T-i-Mḥdī*). It was to this man that Nizāmu-l-mulk must have succeeded. At the moment, I can find no authority for his having become Mir Ātash, but the statement is, I think, correct.
6. *Turrah-bāz Khān*.—Khwājah Muẓaffar, entitled Zafar Khān, Bahādur, Rustam Jang, Ba-wafā, son of Khwājah 'Abdu-l-qādir of Pānīpat, died in 1148 H. (1735-6), (*T-i-Mḥdī*). Turrah-bāz was a nickname, due to the way in which this

noble and his men wore their turbans, the protruding end being likened to a falcon's crest (*turrah-i-bāz*). The populace knew him as Turrah-bāz Khān.

6. 'Ulwī Khān.—Mīrzā Muḥammad Hāshim, second son of Ḥakīm Hādī, was born at Shīrāz in Muḥarram 1080 H. (June 1669). He emigrated to India in 1111 H. (1699–1700), and died at Shāhjahānābād on the 5th Rajab 1162 H. (20th June, 1749.) *Bayān-i-wāq'ī*, my copy of the text, 196. Gladwin, 218, has the 29th Rajab.
7. *Malikah Zamānī*, daughter of Farrukhsīyar, married to Muḥammad Shāh in 1135 H. (1722), Beale, 237. Francklin, "Shāh Aulum," 205, says she died in 1203. H. 1 (788–9).
11. This story of Nizāmu-l-mulk's having been likened to a monkey was in circulation at a very early date. Fraser, p. 68, who wrote as early as 1742, attributes it to Khān Daurān and his friends. They are supposed to have said, "Observe how the Deccan monkey dances;" and he places the event after Nizāmu-l-mulk's last return to Dihlī, which happened in July 1737. Hanway, another contemporary writer, II, 351, says Khān Daurān, styled Nizāmu-l-mulk, a *maimūncī* "a quack doctor or cheat;" but this word must be the same as that in Steingass, 1864, *maimūnbāz*, "a leader of performing monkeys," from *maimūn*, baboon, ape, monkey.
19. Nādir Shāh stormed Qandahār on the 3rd Zu-l-Ḥijjah 1150 H. (23rd March, 1738), "The Compleat History "of Thamas Kouli Kan... written in French and rendered into English..." 12 mo., London, n. d. (about 1745), Part II, p. 5. He started from Qandahār for Kābul on the 8th Muḥarram 1151 H. (27th May, 1738), Anand Rām, Mukhlis, in Elliot, VIII, 77, (Jonas Hanway, II, 357, "middle of year"). He arrived at Kābul about the end of Ṣafar 1151 H. (29th = 17th June, 1738), Anand Rām, l. c. (Hanway, II, 357, "month of June." He left Kābul against the Sāfis, 12th Rabī', II, 1151 H. (29th July, 1738), Raverty, "Notes," 106, (founded on the *Nādirnāmah*), and see a letter from Nādir Shāh in "Compleat History," part II, p. 27. He returned to Kābul and moved to Gandāmak 20th Jumādī I, 1151 H. (4th September, 1738), Raverty, l. c. He reached Jalālābād, 20th Jamādī, II, (4th October, 1738), id. 110. The defeat of Nāṣir Khān, governor of Kābul, took place on the Indian side of the Khaibar, 13th Sha'bān 1151 H. (25th November, 1738), Elliot, VIII, 78, and Nādir Shāh's own letter

of 14th Sha‘bān, “Compleat History,” part II, 27, written from same place between Jamrūd and Pashāwar.

20. *Zakarīyā Khān*, usually called *Khān Bahādur*, was Saifu-d-daulah, Z. K., Bahādur, Dalēr Jang, son of Saifu-d-daulah, ‘Abdu-ṣ-Ṣamad *Khān*, Bahādur, Dalēr Jang. He succeeded his father in 1150 H. (1737) as *ṣūbahdār* of Lāhōr and Multān. He died on the 12th or 13th Jamādī II, 1158 H. (11th or 12th July, 1745), aged about 56 years (*T-i-Mḥdī*).
20. *Nāk mē dam ānā*, to be at the last gasp.
20. *Zakarīyā Khān* formed a camp on the Rāvī outside Lāhōr on the 17th Ramazān 1751 H. (28th December, 1738), Elliot, VIII, 79. *Nādir Shāh* was at Pul-i-Shāh Daulah, some miles north-west of Lāhōr, on the 9th Shawwāl (19th January, 1739), and reached the *Shālihmār* garden east of Lāhōr on the next day. There was some fighting that day and again on the 11th. An agreement was then patched up.
- 24 and 40 *Muḥammad Khān*, or 25, *Khān Muḥammad*. This man is most probably the M. K. “*Beglar-begī*” who brought the third letter addressed by *Nādir Shāh* to *Muḥammad Shāh*, see *Ṣaḥīfah-i-iqbāl*, B. Museum, Oriental Ms. 3281, fol. 71 a, 72 b, 73 a, 74 b.
31. *Zakarīyā Khān* visited *Nādir Shāh* on the 11th and 12th Shawwāl (21st, 22nd January, 1739), Elliot, VIII, 80.
33. *Campat and Lakhpat*. I do not know the meaning of the epithet appended to their names, which I read *Dawād* or *Dāwad*. It occurs again in verse 102 with the alternative form of *Dūdah*. I take it to be the name of some branch of the *Khatrī* caste, but I cannot find it in Ibbetson, “*Panjab Ethnology*.” According to B. M. Or. M. 2043, fol. 51a, *Lakhpat Rāē* was *dīwān* to *Zakarīyā Khān*, *ṣūbahdār* of Lāhōr, and *Campat* was his brother. The same work, fol. 50a, asserts that *Dalpat*, son of *Lakhpat Rāē*, was seized as a hostage by *Nādir Shāh*.
35. *Adīnah Bēg Khān*, a Hindu convert of the *Arāin* caste, was born at *Sarakpūr Paṭṭī* near Lāhōr. When *Nādir Shāh* took Lāhōr, this man was *faujdār* of *Sultānpur* in the *Jālandhar dūāba* (B. M. Or. 2043, fol. 50a). A. B. K. died in *Muḥarram* 1172 H. (3rd September—2nd October, 1758), while *faujdār* of *Sirhind*, (*T-i-Mḥdī*,) year 1172. His tomb is at *Khānpur* near *Hoshyārpur* (Beale, 34).
37. According to B. M. Or. 2043, fol. 50a, the *dīwān* of A. B. K. was *Bhawānī Dās*, *Dhēr*, a caste which, according to Ibbetson,

para. 605 (Dher), is on a par socially with the camārs. But I see that Rieu, "Catalogue of the Persian MSS," copying from one of the manuscripts of the *Khulāsat-t-tawārīkh*, styles its author Sujān Rāe *Dhīr*; and as we know that he was a Khatrī, the epithet may denote here a sub-division of the Khatrī caste. I do not find the word, however, in *Tawārīkh-i-qaum-i-khatrīyān* by Amīn Cand (Dihli, Fauq Kāshī Press).

40. Muḥammad Khān, see ante, 24 (3). Shāh Walī was, I think, the chief minister of Aḥmad Shāh, Durrānī, and not of Nādir Shāh. There seems some mistake here.
52. *Sirhind*.—Nādir Shāh reached Sirhind about the 7th Zu-l-qa'dah (15th February, 1739), Ghulām 'Alī Khān *Muqaddamah-i-Shāh 'Ālam-nāmāh*, B. M. Addl. 24,028, fol. 59b.
53. *Pānīpat*.—Nādir Shāh's last march, before the fighting with the imperial army, was made on the 15th Zu-l-qa'dah (23rd February, 1739), Elliot, VIII, 81. His last camp was at 'Azīmābād Talāwarī (or Tarāorī), between 9 and 10 miles N.-W. of Karnāl. Pānīpat is altogether a mistake. It lies about 26 miles south of Karnāl, the place where Muḥammad Shāh was encamped, and Nādir Shāh could not have passed beyond the emperor's position without a pitched battle.
53. Khān *Daurān*, see note to verse 4. His attack was made on the day that Nādir Shāh had moved his camp from Talāwarī nearer to Karnāl, namely on the 15th Zu-l-qa'dah (23rd February, 1739), Elliot VIII, 81, Fraser, 156.
58. *Alī dīnī duhāī dōnō ō mahmand kē*.—The perversion does not seem greater than we find in our own early writers, for instance, at Baksar (October 1764): "Our seapoys gave the enemy a ding or huzza," Caraccioli, "Clive," I, 59, and Orme writes of "ding Mahomed," "Military Transactions," II, 339.
58. Khān Khānān, that is Khān *Daurān*.
59. *Narārān*.—As I can make nothing of this word, I read *hazārān*, thousands. [Perhaps a barbarous plural of *nar* 'man.' Ed.]
60. *Nishān*.—From its position in the line, I take this to be some kind of musical instrument; and *suphēr* I suppose to be a corruption of *nafīr*.
62. This retreat and the letter to Nizāmu-l-mulk are both, I should say, unhistorical.

66. The distance of five kōs from Dihlī is quite impossible, seeing they were all, Nizāmu-l-mulk included, some seventy miles north of Dihlī at this time.
68. There is no foundation for saying that Nizāmu-l-mulk attacked Khān Daurān's men, though the two nobles were, no doubt, on very bad terms and intensely jealous of each other.
71. Khān Daurān died on the 19th Zu-l-qa'dah (27th February, 1739).
71. Muḥammad Shāh's first visit to Nādir Shāh in his camp took place on the 20th (28th February, 1739), Fraser, 162.
71. Nādir Shāh's entry into the palace at Dihlī took place on the 9th Zu-l-Ḥijjah, 1151 H. (19th March, 1739), that is, twenty days before the end of the Ḥijrī year 1151.
72. This general slaughter lasted from 8 A.M. to 3 P.M. of the 11th Zu-l-Ḥijjah (21st March, 1739), Elliot, VIII, 88, Fraser, 181.
82. Majlis Rāē, Brāhman, was *dīwān* to the wazīr, Qamru-d-dīn Khān, see back note to verse 4. Fraser, 199, says that on the 6th Muḥarram 1152 H. (14th April, 1739), his ear was cut off in open darbar. He committed suicide on the 12th (20th April, 1739).
86. I know not what truth there is in this story of Muḥammad Shāh adopting Persian attire, but Anand Rām, Mukhliṣ, tells us, *Mirātu-l-Iṣṭilāḥ*, B. M. Or. 1813, fol. 108a, that in 1157 H., after Nādir's invasion, Persian customs were copied by the fashionable youth of Dihlī. He refers especially to a fashion of carrying a stick called a *khundī*.
- 88-92. I think that I have seen this marvellous story told in prose somewhere, but I cannot find the reference to it at present.
96. 'Ulwī Khān was not released, see his story in the *Bayān-i-wāqi'* of Khawājah 'Abdu-l-Karīm, Kashmīrī, and translation thereof by F. Gladwin, Calcutta, 1788. The ḥakīm was not allowed to leave, until the 16th Rabī' II, 1154 H. (30th June, 1741), Gladwin, 95. He went from Kazwīn to Mecca, and finally reached Dihlī again on the 10th Jamādī II, 1156 H. (31st July, 1743), having come from Jeddah by sea to Chandernagore.
97. *Amr Singh*. Butā Shāh, *Tārīkh-i-Panjāb*, places him in the time of Aḥmad Shāh, Durrānī, about 1761, and speaks of the title of Mahārāja being conferred by this later invader.
103. Nādir Shāh reached Kābul on the 1st Ramaḥān, 1152 H. (1st December, 1739), Gladwin, 13.
103. The *Bayān-i-wāqi'*, Gladwin, 166, calls the place Qūjūn, not

Fathābād, and locates it three stages from Mashhad. An anonymous history of Nādir Shāh, lately received by me from India, names Fathābād, two farsakh's from Khyūshān, as the place of assassination. Qūjūn and Khyūshān are no doubt the Koochan of Keith Johnston's Royal Atlas, about 100 miles north-west of Mashhad. Ernst Beer, "Das Tārīkh-i-Zendīje" (Leiden, 1888), XIV, spells the name *Khabūshān*, and this in popular use became *Khūjān*, and finally *Qūchān*.
